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ABSTRACT

An examination was made of the effects of the black caucus and the women's caucus on the American Psychological Association (APA). Black psychologists charged the APA with racism and female psychologists charged the organization with sexism. Both groups demanded changes in APA governance structure and policy. The demands of the two groups and responses of the APA to those demands were investigated within the context of a historical review of events. Findings of the examination indicated that the influence of the women's caucus in psychology made a major impact on the APA. The black caucus had less of an impact as a result of its withdrawing from the APA. Both groups sensitized the organization to the issues of racism and sexism within psychology. (Author/MK)

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Some Effects of the Black Caucus and the Women's Caucus on the American Psychological Association[1]

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Abstract

An examination was made of the effects of the Black caucus and the women's caucus on the American Psychological Association (APA). Black psychologists have charged the APA with racism and female psychologists have charged the APA with sexism. Both groups have demanded changes in APA governance structure and policies. The demands of Blacks and women in psychology and the responses of the APA to these demands were examined. The influence of the women's caucus in psychology has made a major impact on the APA. The Black caucus, by withdrawing from APA, has had less of an impact. Both women and minorities have sensitized a major academic professional organization to issues of racism and sexism within psychology.

Some Effects of the Black Caucus and the Women's Caucus on the American Psychological Association

The first meeting of psychologists to form the American Psychological Association was held at the University of Pennsylvania on December 26, 1892. Led by G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, a group of approximately 18 psychologists met to hear 12 papers and to form the new association. Active recruitment of new members was urged and the American Psychological Association was launched. From this modest beginning emerged one of the most powerful academic professional organizations in America, (Fernberger, 1943).

Little (1974) reports that as of 1974 the APA is the largest of the behavioral and social science societies. The object of the Association, according to Article I of the first Constitution adopted in 1894, was "the advancement of psychology as a science" (Fernberger, 1943). The certification of incorporation in 1925 reads: "That the object of this society shall be to advance psychology as a science".

Kiesler and McKeachie (1976) as executive officers of APA present other reasons for the necessity of APA. The APA Central Office receives over a million and a half pieces

of mail a year, much of it requesting information about psychology. It also supplies federal agencies, the Congress, private citizens and other organizations with information about psychology.

The APA submits reports to a variety of federal agencies, including the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Health, and many other agencies that affect government spending policies. The APA also provides a coordinated posture on behalf of psychology in such areas as education, test standards, licensing legislation and ethical standards.

The APA, like similar organizations, has a long history of internal conflicts. Little (1975) noted that the "primordial conflict within the APA has been, since the 1930's, between the psychologist practitioner and the psychologist scientist/academician".

However, added to the classic conflict within the Association between the clinical psychologist practitioner and the scientist/academician, there is a third group who try to use the Association as a potential force for social change. These are the social activists within APA. All three groups have spawned a variety of sub-groups or units within and outside APA to meet their specialized goals.

Membership among the units for social change in the profession of psychology consists of diverse people, some eligible for membership in APA and others who are not eligible. However, all members tend to be associated with the field of psychology in one way or another. The following is a list of some units concerned with social issues:

Association for Women in Psychology

Association of Black Psychologists

Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology

Commission for Accelerating Black Participation in Psychology

Committee of Equality of Opportunity for Black Psychologists

Committee on Academic Freedom and Conditions of Employment

Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Psychology

Committee on Women in Psychology

Psychologists for Social Action

Psychology of Women (Division 35)

Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex Role Stereotyping in Psychotherapeutic Practice

Task Force on Sexual Bias in Graduate Education

Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Division 9)

All of these units were involved in an examination of the issues of racism or sexism in APA and sometimes with both. Some caucuses specifically concerned with racism directed toward Spanish-speaking Americans, Asian-Americans and American Indians are not included in this study. This is due to the need to restrict the study because of time contingencies to two major caucuses which emerged during the last decade.

The Black Caucus

The report will start with an examination of the formation of the Black caucus because it was the first of the two caucuses to emerge. However, a more detailed picture can be presented of the women's caucus because sources of information were more readily available and individuals and officers were more willing to cooperate with the researchers.

The Black caucus emerged during the late 1960's at a time when the United States was highly conscious of the grievances of Blacks in America. Riots had forced the country to start listening to Black demands and confrontation politics had become very familiar to Americans. White liberals had

become involved in varying degrees with the Black civil rights movement. Because of these facts the emergence of a Black caucus within APA was not met with a great deal of surprise. Indeed, the executive structure had started to prepare and pave the way for the expected needs and demands of Black psychologists (Tyler, 1977). Unlike women, Blacks could tap in on liberal guilt in an organization of academics with a fairly liberal background.

Black psychologists formed the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi) during the San Francisco meeting of the APA in September, 1968 (Williams, 1974). At that time there were fewer than 300 Black Ph.D.'s in psychology in the United States. Wispe, et al., (1969) showed that between 1920 and 1966, out of 9,914 doctorates in psychology granted by 25 major universities only 93 were awarded to Blacks. Such major universities as UCLA, Harvard, Yale, Stanford and Cornell had never granted a doctorate in psychology to a Black.

Concerns of Black Psychologists

A petition of concerns was submitted to APA by ABPsi demanding immediate attention to the following problems:

> 1) the extremely limited number of Black psychologists, Black graduate students, and Black students in the undergraduate programs, 2) the failure of the American Psychological Association to direct its scientific and professional energies toward the solution of prominent social concerns, particularly the issues of poverty and racism, and 3) the fact that the general organization structure of the American Psychological Association reflects a serious lack of adequate representation of Black psychologists.
>
> (Williams, 1974, p. 13)

While applauding the actions already taken by APA in funding and organizing the Committee of Equality of Opportunity for Black Psychologists, ABPsi also demanded that APA immediately establish a committee to study the misuse of standardized psychological tests. This was the issue that became the most sensitive and controversial between the APA and ABPsi.

Psychological testing can be used by professional gatekeepers to all levels of upward mobility, from access to education to access to jobs. Blacks challenged the use of tests because as a group Blacks felt that tests, particularly I.Q. tests, had been used to support racist stereotyping. The

issue of the inheritability of intelligence and the suggested genetic inferiority of Blacks was in the news (Jensen, 1969: Burt, C., 1966; Hernstein, R.J., 1973). ABPsi demanded a moratorium on testing.

The initial demands made in September, 1968 by ABPsi led to several responses by APA. A conference on recruitment of Black and other minority students and faculty was immediately arranged and held in the Board Room of APA in April, 1969. Participants were persons nominated by ABPsi and by the APA Board of Directors. Albee (1969) reports that there was widespread agreement that APA Council, boards and committees, should provide leadership in expanding opportunities for Blacks and other minorities to enter the main stream of psychology.

Participants generally agreed that large efforts had to be made at all levels - making opportunities available in graduate programs for qualified black and other minority group students, with special financial assistance earmarked; improving the quality of undergraduate education in psychology at predominantly black colleges; recruiting more able undergraduates to these departments; improving the educational opportunities in elementary

and secondary schools for disadvantaged students; and working to eliminate the effects of racism throughout our society.

(Albee, 1969, p.721)

Conference participants noted with approval that the theme of the 1969 Annual APA Convention was "Psychology and Problems of Society". Among other recommendations coming out of the Conference was:

> We would ask APA to recommend that NIMH add extra stipends to existing training grants, stipends specifically earmarked for higher risk minority group students who might be encouraged in some cases to spend a 'bridge year' in courses selected as preparatory to graduate study.
>
> We further urge that APA use its influence with NIMH, the Office of Education, and the Social Rehabilitation Service to seek new and effective ways to fund programs for minority group students, especially at the undergraduate level, with the goal of increasing the pool of potential graduate students for the human service professions.

> ... One of the recurring themes throughout the Conference was the urgent need for black role models in the psychology - persons who might be examples to black undergraduates of the opportunities available to them in psychology.
>
> (Albee, 1969, p.722)

The Conference also noted with concern that a large number of Black psychologists belong neither to APA nor to state psychological associations. They hoped that Black psychologists would join APA.

> Other special groups in psychology have found that an organized effort, even by a relatively small number, can have dramatic effects on the APA governance structure, including changes in the distribution of budgeted activities; black and other minority group psychologists may note that this Conference and many other current APA activities, have been triggered by the 'Statement of Concerns' of the Association of Black Psychologists presented to Council in October, 1968. We hope this lesson is not lost and that organizational activity within APA by black psychologists will increase.
>
> (Albee, 1969, p.723)

It appears that the initial response of the APA to the demands of ABPsi was positive and supportive. However, this response also appeared to ignore the question of testing. However, apart from the issue of a moratorium on testing, the APA responded with funds and supportive recommendations to the demands of ABPsi.

Confrontation tactics first emerged during the March, 1969 meeting in Vancouver, B.C., of the Western Psychological Association. The newly formed Black Student Psychological Association (BSPA) interrupted and took over meetings. However, a more dramatic confrontation took place in September, 1969 in Washington, D.C., when APA president George Miller walked to the podium to deliver his presidential address at the annual meeting of the APA. Twenty Black students walked on stage and demanded to be allowed to address the audience. After they presented the concerns of BSPA, they then requested a meeting with the APA Council of Representatives. After they were told that they would be allowed to present their concerns in more detail to the APA Council of Representatives the following morning, George Miller was then allowed to deliver his presidential address.

The regular agenda of the Council of Representatives was set aside and the Black students presented their statement. BSPA charged the APA with negligence in its professional responsibilities and asked for increased recruitment of Black students and faculty. They asked for changes in training to provide relevant community experiences for Black students and for degrees that would equip Black students to function in the community. They asked APA to provide seed money. The APA Council of Representatives endorsed in principle the BSPA statements, and adopted a motion that the APA would provide a sum of money to permit Black students and psychologists to explore the objectives raised in the students' statement.

The Council of Representatives and the Board of Directors of APA could hardly be called nonresponsive to the demands of ABPsi and BSPA. They offered monetary support to help achieve the changes desired by ABPsi. However, APA did not endorse a moratorium on testing. ABPsi charged APA with having a vested interest in the multimillion testing industry and declared they would move independently of APA.

At the recommendation of the Commission for Accelerating Black Participation in Psychology, APA committed funds and

established a national office for BSPA in APA headquarters in Washington, D.C. Funds were provided for a three year period and Ernestine Thomas became National Coordinator of BSPA. This is an unprecedented event, because students have never before been accorded such status.

The APA Presidency

During this period, in 1971, APA installed its first Black president since the inception of the organization in 1892. Kenneth Clark was elected in 1970 and, while Clark is a nationally recognized and learned psychologist, it would be hard not to believe that the election of the first Black APA president was not influenced by the emergence of ABPsi and BSPA. APA also did not have a very good record up to that period for electing women as president. In 1905 their first woman, Mary Calkins, was president and in 1921 their second female president was Margaret Washburn.

Mary Calkins completed her examinations for a doctoral degree in psychology in 1890 at Harvard, under the tutelege of William James. However, she was not awarded her degree because Harvard at that time granted degrees only to males. Margaret Washburn studied psychology at Columbia in 1891 as a "hearer" because no women had ever been admitted before. Because Columbia had no scholarships for women, she transferred

to Cornell, receiving her Ph.D. in 1894 as E.B. Titchener's doctoral student.

It was not until the year following Clark's presidency that another female became president. In 1972 Anne Anastasi became APA president, fifty years after the last female president, and in 1973 Leona Tyler became the fourth woman in APA history to become president. Interestingly, both Anastasi and Tyler, while recognized nationally as distinguished psychologists, had developed their reputation basically in the area of psychological testing, measurement and evaluation, an area most strongly attacked by Blacks in psychology. In 1978 Florence Denmark, a social psychologist, became the fifth woman elected as APA president. Denmark is the first psychologist elected to high office in APA who has demonstrated research interest in the psychology of women and who has served as president of Division 35 (Psychology of Women).

I.Q. Controversy

At the same time as APA installed its first Black president in 1971, Sir Cyril Burt was awarded the E.E. Thorndike Award, one of the APA's highest honors, for research which appeared to demonstrate innate racial differences in intelligence.

This research was used to buttress the controversial research by Jensen, (1969) and Hernstein, (1973). It was Leon Kamin (1974) in his book The Science and Politics of I.Q. who carefully examined Burt's data and revealed clear evidence of scientific fraud in the correlational statistics supplied by Burt. It was not until December 1976 that the APA Monitor (APA Monitor, 1976, 7, 12, p. 1 & 4) gave front page coverage to exposure of the fraudulent data which was supportive of racist theories of genetic inferiority.

The fifth annual convention of ABPsi was held in San Francisco in 1972, hosted by the Bay Areas Association of Black Psychologists (BAABP). The BAABP was by then involved in a class action suit, supported by the NAACP, ACLU, and CRLA against the California State Department of Education. The suit, Larry P. V. Riles, charged that I.Q. tests are biased against blacks (Opton. 1977). By June, 1972 the California courts ordered a moratorium on the use of I.Q. tests to place Black students in Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) classes in San Francisco, (APA Monitor, 1972, 3, (9 & 10), p.7). In this suit attacking testing, ABPsi was working independently outside of the APA framework. At the ABPsi convention in 1972 five priority areas were dealt

with, including testing, mental health, prison, research, and education. However, testing was moved up to the first priority.

APA responded to concerns of ABPsi and BSPA on the issue of training by having a national conference on professional training which would "also investigate many currents running through psychology today: the demands of the ABPsi and the BSPA for multi-level training of greater functional relevance: the call by the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP) for the elimination of sexism in training," (APA Monitor, 1972, 3, (5), p.4).

The following month (APA Monitor, 1972, 3, (5), p.7) it was reported that 800 Black psychology students were expected to attend the APA supported second National Convention of the BSPA in June at New York University. ABPsi received coverage in the Monitor (APA Monitor, 1972, 3, (7), p.7) with an attack on community mental health centers in Black areas. They demanded that Blacks be adequately represented at all level of policy making in the mental health area, especially at NIMH; that Black mental health professionals assume a major responsibility for the education and training of Black students in mental health; and that Black mental health professionals and their agencies become a necessary vehicle for social action and social change.

Black Caucus Rejection of APA

Black psychologists who are members of ABPsi have challenged and seriously questioned traditional psychology. Williams (1974) writing in the Journal of Black Psychology states that Black psychologists have broken the symbiotic relationship with white psychology. The APA as an academic professional institution was rejected by Blacks who saw it as an obstacle to their goals. Sometimes the rejection of APA has been couched in bitter terms and sometimes Black psychologists have lumped white society and the APA together, seeing both as racist institutions. Black psychologist Charles Thomas (1973) said that society was "endangered by 'aggressive Anglo males' and suggested measures including sterilization, to control their 'compulsive and competitive need to exploit people' who are different because of age, sex, or race".

The separatist movement of Blacks in psychology appears to have gradually reduced APA support to the level of administering Federal minority fellowship grants. Occasionally the Monitor reports some ABPsi challenge on testing but news of BSPA has been non-existent for the past several years. Some data on the effectiveness of the protests on under-representation

of Blacks in psychology has been gathered. Suber (1977) reports on data collected by the APA Office of Educational Affairs on the distribution of Black graduate students and faculty in clinical, counseling and school psychology from 1972 to 1976.

> In terms of the questions initially posed, the minority graduate student enrollment and minority faculty distribution in APA-approved programs has made some strides in the direction of better accessibility to all ethnic groups in higher education. However, by any comparison, it would not be presumptuous to say that we have a long way to go.
>
> (Suber, 1977, p.16)

Alternative to Black Separatism

An alternative to separatism for Blacks in psychology might have been to follow the traditional route of other specialized groups in psychology -- to form a Division. In 1979 there are 36 Divisions in APA and they represent much diversity of interests and approaches to psychology. APA, as a large bureaucratic organization concerned with stability, must also be able to respond to pressure for change from groups of committed individuals. Black psychologists in forming a separate Association of Black psychologists in 1968 charged that APA had not responded to the needs of

Black psychologists nor to the needs of Black communities. ABPsi refused to become a Division of APA and specifically stated that they did not want to become a part of the structure of APA (Williams, 1974).

The primary cause of the separation of Black psychologists from APA was the issue of psychological testing, in particular intelligence testing. Operating outside of the structure of APA, Black psychologists have influenced the courts and the government to curb the influence of testing on people's lives. Whether they could have been as effective, given that they have been effective, operating within the structure of a large powerful organization is a matter for speculation.

Recently the idea of an APA division has risen again. In May, 1978, the question arose at a conference sponsored by NIMH's Center for Minority Group Mental Health and the APA Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility. Hispanic, Asian-American, American Indian and Black psychologists brought differing viewpoints, with the Hispanic caucus calling for a division of minority psychologists, the American Indian and Alaska native caucus favoring a division of inter-cultural psychology, and the Asian-Pacific American caucus calling for some APA entity to increase the visibility and

influence of minority psychologists (APA Monitor, 1978, 9, (7), p.4). The Black caucus appeared to reject the idea of a division and urged the creation of an 11-member Board of Minority Affairs with an Office of Minority Affairs, staffed by an administrative officer, associate and secretary (Jones, 1978). This proposal was eventually accepted by the other caucuses.

The APA Board of Directors in June, 1978 responded by recommending to the Council of Representatives approval of an office of minority affairs, authorization of an ad hoc committee on minority affairs, and hiring of a staff officer. However, it did not recommend the creation of a board of minority affairs and was leary of the $125,000 price tag. APA staff noted that a board would require a change in bylaws and a poll of APA members. The APA Council of Representatives approved a new office of minority affairs along with an ad hoc committee (APA Monitor, 1978, 9, (11), p.1). It remains to be seen if other minority caucuses pursue the idea of an APA division of minority psychologists.

The Women's Caucus

Women in psychology did not emerge as a protesting caucus until 1969 at the APA convention, exactly one year after Blacks had challenged APA. Female psychologists came together in three symposia with the general topic of "Women

as Scientist and Subject". This brought together women from Psychologists for Social Action, National Organization for Women and New University Conference, all groups dedicated to social change. Discussions from these symposia tended to focus on job discrimination and sexist practices at the APA Convention and in the academic and professional world in general. Another issue discussed was the contribution of traditional psychological theory to the oppression of women. Interested members met and formed the Association for Women in Psychology (AWP).

Concerns of Women Psychologists

The purpose of the new organization (AWP) was declared as:

> a non-profit scientific and educational organization of psychologists and others concerned with sex roles in our changing society from educational, professional, and research viewpoint. AWP is dedicated to maximizing the effectiveness of professional opportunities for women psychologists, and to exploring the contributions which psychology can, does, and should make to the definition, investigation, and modification of current sex role sterotypes ... AWP is committed to taking action:

a. against the role which psychology and other behavioral sciences have had in perpetuating the unscientific and unquestioned assumptions about the nature of men and women;

b. to stimulate necessary experimentation on and implementation of alternative sex models;

c. to investigate and review psychological research on sex differences in order to establish facts and explode myths;

d. to educate and sensitize the psychology profession and the public to the psychological, social, political and economic problems of women;

e. to insure the equality of opportunity for women and men within the profession of psychology. (AWP Newsletter, Summer, 1970, p.2).

Three petitions were prepared: (a) asking the APA Education and Training Board to revise APA accreditation procedures to examine policies of sexist discrimination in psychology departments seeking APA accreditation; (b) advised APA to examine its own policies for latent and overt sexist practices and demanded that child-care facilities be set up at future conventions; and, in cooperation with PSA (c) asked APA to pass a resolution in support of abortion reform as a civil right of women.

APA responded by passing an abortion resolution, by referring the petition on sexism within APA and the need for child care to the APA Policy and Planning Committee, and by defeating the resolution calling for the examination for sexist discrimination in psychology departments seeking accreditation on the grounds that it dealt with a political issue which was irrelevant to the assessment of professional excellence.

The first name used by the association was the Association of Women Psychologists but this was quickly changed to the Association for Women in Psychology in order to allow students, non-psychologists and supportive males to join. Some members belong to APA and some do not and cannot because of the more stringent membership criteria for APA.

Women in psychology appeared to adopt similar confrontation tactics as Blacks in psychology used in their beginning struggle with APA. At the APA convention in Miami in September, 1970, during a new open forum called "Town Meeting", the majority of the two and one-half hours of time was taken up by questions and demands concerning discrimination against women within APA and by society at large. Before a crowd of 1,500, Dr. Joan Joesting, accused

APA president-elect, Kenneth Clark of telling a delegation of AWP members, who had presented him with some of the concerns of women in psychology, that "white women have stepped on black males" and Joesting claimed that Clark had implied that women were nothing but "baby factories" (APA Monitor, 1970, 1, (1), p.1).

President-elect Kenneth Clark denied the charges and told AWP members that he was "not disposed to deal with questions of justice, equity and decency among human beings in a compartmentalized fashion". Clark, as the first Black APA president, had assumed office during a particularly turbulent period for APA with two major caucuses emerging and demanding change. However, Clark also said at the meeting that "white females by virtue of their privileged position, were accessories to cruelties directed toward black males" (APA Monitor, 1970, 1, p. 7). From the beginning of the emergence of the two caucuses there was little collaborative efforts between them although many of their charges of discrimination against APA were similar.

Tyler (1977) reported a great deal of receptivity in APA to Black demands in 1968 and an awareness of the problem of under-representation of Blacks in psychology. However, she reported astonishment at the emergence of the women's

demands because most of the power structure in APA were unaware of any sexist practices or feelings.

AWP sought $1,000,000 in reparation damages to be taken from APA funds obtained from women in the form of dues over the past years. Other demands made by AWP in 1970 were (a) free office space in APA Central Office and $30,000 a year administrative expenses, (b) $50,000 for research on psychology and the status of women, (c) $10,000 for a study of the status of women in psychology and (d) a task force to write a position paper on the status of women in psychology, with at least half of the task force members being members of APA who are also members of AWP (APA Monitor, 1970, 1, (1), p.3).

APA responded by voting to establish a task force to write a position paper on the status of women in psychology. The task force would be appointed by APA president Kenneth Clark and would include AWP members. The Council of Representatives voted on six other AWP Resolutions, three of them passing and three of them failing to pass. The Council passed the resolution (a) that instructions must be given to employers forbidding sexist invasion of privacy e.g., questions about family planning to female applicants, (b) child care

facilities will be provided at conventions and (c) APA membership by-laws will be changed to allow part-time graduate students to become Associate members in APA.

They voted against giving AWP office space, or money, and against investigation of the nominating committees for APA policy-making boards for not proposing women candidates in proportion to the percentage of women in APA. Office space was refused to AWP on the grounds that AWP was a non-APA group. Yet office space and funding was supplied to the Black Students Psychological Association which also was a non-APA group.

APA media response to AWP demands were peevish and aggrieved, particularly with the confrontation tactics used (see American Psychologist, 1971, 26, (6), p.581). This type of media response to demands of the women's movement in not atypical. Morris (1973) reported that media treatment of the early women's movement was characterized by ostracism and ridicule. For example, Gaye Tuchman (1977), in her analysis of coverage of the women's movement by the New York Times, New York Post and New York Daily News, noted that the New York Times reported the founding of N.O.W. on the Women's page, sandwiched between a turkey recipe and some fashion store news. Tuchman, in her research paper, Ridicule,

Advocacy, and Professionalism: Newspaper Reporting About a Social Movement, provides an excellent review of media use of ridicule against an unpopular social movement. The APA Monitor also reflected anxiety about any changes in the status quo in psychology and very frequently used ridicule as a weapon against charges of sexism from AWP.

AWP membership climbed from the handful of people meeting in 1969 to a reported 400 members in 1971, and to over 1,400 reported members in 1977. The range of issues broadened over the year to many issues that affected the quality of life for women in psychology.

The APA Monitor as a Forum

The APA Monitor provided a forum for many of the issues to be raised and the letters to the editor provided a particularly free-wheeling arena for both proponents and opponents of women's rights. These letters were frequently bitter and caustic and revealed more openly how feminist psychologists and traditional psychologists felt about issues. Language provided a key issue and change in this area was bitterly resisted. Whether to use chairman, chairone, chairperson, or chair could provoke a spate of latters. That particular word seemed to trigger the most angry response

from tranditionalists, including the editor of the Monitor (APA Monitor,1971, 2, (7), p.3; APA Monitor, 1971, 2, (8 & 9), p.14-15). Editor Jim Warren used ridicule to warn the Council of Representatives (APA Monitor, 1972, 3, (3), p.3) to adopt "chair-manwomanpersononе" in future to avoid "lawsuits by AWP and PSA". During the same period very little ridicule was directed at Black demands in the APA Monitor, either in letters or editorials.

A couple of letters to the Editor of APA Monitor will illustrate some of the emotion displayed. Bartz and Rasor (1972) in a letter in which they admit that prejudice exists against female psychologists go on to state that:

> male psychologists who admit they dislike women psychologists tend to be quite vocal about it and their disregard seems to stem from a standard complaint, they insist that women psychologists are aggressive, overly competitive, difficult to work with, moody, and hostile toward men (ever hear a woman psychologist referred to as a "castrator" or 'ball buster'?).

Bartz and Rasor go on to charge that women psychologists on oral or written examinations are "academic suicide"

and blame women on licensing committees for the failure of some males to pass the examinations. They also admit that when one of the writers was in an all male psychology department with an opening for a new person:

> staff feeling was that no woman psychologist should be considered for the job because she would negatively affect the functioning of the department, its comraderie and morale ... could it be that Ph.D. in psychology conferred upon a woman often results in a disagreeable old hag?
>
> (Bartz and Rasor, 1972, p.8)

This letter impressed Vaira Vikis (1972) because she felt it confirmed the existence of prejudice against women. She replied in a letter to the Editor which noted that she had never met a female psychologist that fit the description in the Bartz and Rasor letter and suggested that perhaps a new subspecies had emerged. Vikis also suggested that the new subspecies should be called the "Abominable Woman" because she is much talked about but seldom seen. She stated her interest in the Bartz and Rasor discovery of a "causative link between the conferring of a Ph.D. degree and a catastrophically accelerated aging process", and wonders if such a process could be entirely beneficial to

to men? Vikis suggests the need for objective, controlled, rigorous research on the effects of a Ph.D. in psychology to test the hypothesis that the "Ph.D. has a disasterous effect on age, looks, character and disposition of women, whereas men are not only entirely immune to it but might even be positively rejuvenated".

> While Bartz and Rasor do not mention sexual insecurity and anxiety in their report, it is evident that this too should be objectively measured and compared for both sexes. It seems that such anxiety can be surprisingly high in some male psychologists, since they refuse to work with women co-workers on the grounds that they are 'castrators' and 'ball busters'.
>
> (Vikis, 1972, p.10)

These two letters provide a good example of the kind of bitter attacks frequently seen in the Monitor.

Child Care Facilities

Child care facilities became a matter of principle to AWP members and supporters from the beginning of the Caucus. Each year the issue came up and was debated (APA Monitor, 1971, 2 (6), p.1; APA Monitor, 1971, 2 (10), p.5; APA Monitor, 1972, 3 (8), p.1; APA Monitor, 1973, 4 (5), p.13; APA Monitor,

1976, 7 (3), p.9; APA Monitor, 1976, 7 (3), p.9; APA Monitor, 1976, 7 (6), p.13; APA Monitor, 1976, 7 (11), p.9; APA Monitor, 1977, 8 (3), p.1, 8 & 9).

Each year the cost of providing day care was challenged. As more women (and mothers) demanded full professional status in psychology and as more men began to accept shared responsibilities of parenting, the question of child care at conventions assumed increasing importance.

The issue of child care seems to have been resolved at the APA Council of Representatives meeting in January, 1977.

> After facing a rather unsteady future since its inception six years ago, convention child care, plagued by high costs and limited use, finally gained continued APA support. Council members, after considerable debate, voted to provide a child care facility at annual meetings and to pay the 'unavoidable costs'.
>
> (APA Monitor, 1977, 8 (3) p.10)

The issue of child care would seem to provide an example of a clear cut victory for one of the early demands of women in psychology.

Under-representation of Women

Data on the under-representation of women in APA governing units in 1970 provided women in psychology with evidence of some form of discrimination. In 1970, men constituted about 75 percent of the country's psychologists but they constituted 90 percent of APA boards and committees, 93 percent of the Council of Representatives, and 98 percent of APA editorial board membership (APA Monitor, 1972, 3 (8 & 9), p.4). Several units were investigating the problems of sexism and racism, including the newly formed Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology, the Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI).

The SPSSI Committee on Sex Discrimination examined employment patterns of women psychologists and found that faculty women:

> were found in great numbers in part-time, non-tenured positions and in the instructor-lecturer category, which is open to non-doctoral persons.

Women were most under-represented in the most "desirable" departments and ranks of psychology. Solmon (1978) reports that the percentage of psychology Ph.D.'s awarded to women

has increased from 11.9% in 1967 to 32.9% in 1976. However, women in psychology report 25.2% underemployment compared to male underemployment of 7.4%.

Salary Differences

The APA Manpower Data System provided data from a 1972 survey questionnaire of APA members. Sixty-two percent of the respondents were defined as service providers because some proportion of their time was spent in providing direct services in the practice and application of psychology. Service providers were principally in the fields of clinical, counseling or consulting services, or test administration and/or evaluation (Boneau, 1974). Large salary differences were found between male and female service providers in psychology.

Doctoral-level males reported a median income of $24,000 in 1972, with ten percent of them reporting a median income of over $36,000. In contrast, female doctoral level service providers reported a median income of $17,250, with $26,000 marking the 90th percentile. Males with a master's degree reported a median income of $17,400 while master-level females reported a median income of $14,000. In full time service provision in psychology a female with a Ph.D.

earned the same income as a male with a master's degree. Boneau reports that the differences between the sexes in income could not be entirely explained by working hours, although males tended to report a greater number of hours worked.

Those practitioners who were employed in educational or clinical settings and who only occasionally provided psychotherapy or counseling on a fee-for-service, reported higher incomes than practitioners who are primarily in private practice.

> Those psychologists who occasionally hang out a shingle report somewhat better professional incomes -- at the doctorate level, a median income of $25,130 for men, $19,027 for women. The 90th percentile is $42,667 for men, $30,639 for women. With a master's degree the reported medians are $20,233 for men, $19,250 for women.
>
> (Boneau, 1974, p.14)

Again, master's level males earned more than Ph.D. level females.

Solmon (1978) reported National Research Council data showing median salaries in 1977 of $24,700 for academic male Ph.D. psychologists and $20,500 for academic female Ph.D. psychologists.

> Women are both more plentiful in psychology and their salaries are lower compared to men. The reason might be the fear of the power of this minority. Or it might be that employers feel less need to pay high salaries to attract women psychologists for affirmative action compliance than they do to attract women in other fields. The fact that women are concentrated in low-paying subspecialties, such as counseling and school psychology, also helps explain their lower salaries.
>
> (Solmon, 1978, p.998)

When inequalities in salaries between male and female psychologists was given publicity in the Monitor, the editor, Jim Warren, in his column "Pot-pourii" commented, "New study by the Committee on Women in Psychology reveals that male psychologists make more money than female psychologists and also have more hair on their chests" (APA Monitor, 1974, 5 (1), p.3). It is diffucult to imagine similar contemptuous ridicule if the salary differences referred to Blacks in psychology.

The APA Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology provided a list of specific recommendations for action by the

APA Council of Representatives (APA Monitor, 1972, 3 (8 & 9), p.4), to help eliminate discrimination in the profession of psychology. The Task Force also brought out a set of guidelines for psychology departments to implement and consult, particularly when the department has to respond to inquiries from members of the academic community or from research granting agencies. Among the suggested psychology department guidelines were: active recruitment of female applications; the consideration of qualifications without regard to marital status; women's and men's salaries within grades should be identical; psychology faculties should include significant numbers of women at all ranks.

Because of the efforts of the Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology and pressure exerted by other groups, the Board of Directors acted on a number of recommendations.

The Board voted:

> to accept recommended guidelines for the Education and Training Board - adding sex discrimination as a fifth criterion in their evaluation of clinical, counseling, and school psychology training programs. This recommendation has already been adopted as policy;

> to accept the recommendation asking that APA raise, with heads of appropriate government agencies, the issue of discrimination against women in terms of approving and funding research grant applications and in terms of their representation on scientific review committees; and
>
> to accept and refer guidelines for psychology department chairmen to the ad hoc committee on Social and Ethical Responsibility for implementation.
>
> (APA Monitor, 1972, 3 (8 & 9), p.4)

The Board rejected, however, the recommendation that a senior staff position be established at APA Central Office whose major responsibility would be to work with the task force on women's issues.

Sexism in Journals

Sandra Harris (1972) brought the issue of sexism in publication ratios in APA journals (Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Journal of Developmental Psychology, and the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology) where she found a ratio of 85/15 of male senior authors to female senior authors. This led to the demand for more female psychologists in editorial boards and also the need for blind review of

articles submitted for publication. The issue of the unequal publication rates for males and females brought a flood of letters ridiculing the charge of sexism in journals (APA Monitor, 1973, 4 (4), p.7; APA Monitor, 1973, 4 (6), p.11; APA Monitor, 4 (7), p.4). However, blind review has been instituted by the APA Publication and Communication Board in answer to complaints of sex bias (APA Monitor, 1976, 7 (9 & 10), p.11), and women were selected as editors, reviewers and abstractors for Psychological Abstracts.

APA Division on Women

By 1973, enough interest had been aroused by women's caucuses within APA that the question arose concerning the formation of an APA Division on Women. However, many of the members of AWP would not be eligible to join a Division of APA. A concern of AWP was that a Division in APA would co-opt the vigor of AWP and drain away members. AWP newsletters published arguments in favor of and against the creation of a Division for women.

Tennov (1973) argued in favor of the division.

> The advantages to having a Division is so that we legitimize a new field, Female Psychology. We need students in this new field, especially in graduate

programs to train others for research and teaching. We need recognition of the field in its own right ... I also think the Division will give us needed power in APA. I think it will attract many women who have not come into AWP. It might allow AWP to have a narrower focus and might help us hit a few things hard instead of a lot of things lightly.

(Tennov, 1973, p.7)

Gardner (1973) argued against the proposed Division.

It is my position as an activist feminist that we psychologists should not study women as a class. I believe that we should study people and take extra care to apply our questions about their nature in an unbiased way to both women and men. To put it another way, we should practice our profession in an unbiased way, both as scientists and clincians. If concerned about previous errors caused by a sexist world, we should, I think, study the phenomenon of sexism. A Division of Psychology of Women is inherently sexist and will therefore ultimately contribute more to the problem than to the solution.

(Gardner, 1973, p.7)

Ultimately, AWP passed a motion during a meeting at the 1973 APA Convention in Montreal favoring the proposed Division (AWP Newsletter, September-October, 1973, p.1). The proposed new Division 35 Psychology of Women was approved by APA. Unger (1974) jubilantly announced that in addition to nearly 800 charter members of the Division more than 200 verified new requests for membership have been received. This is the largest number of APA members to join a new division in the history of the APA. Division 35, in 1978, had grown to over 1,500 members. The objectives of Division 35 Psychology of Women are:

> To promote the research and study of women, including both the biological and socio-cultural determinants of behavior. To encourage the integration of this information about women with the current psychological knowledge and beliefs in order to apply the gained knowledge to the society and its institutions.
>
> (Division 35 - Psychology of Women Newsletter, 1974, 1 (1), p.1)

Divisions are committed to the same purpose as the APA and are a part of the governance structure through their representation on the Council of Representatives.

AWP, as an organization, has a deliberately loose structure. Their by-laws (AWP Newsletter, March-April, 1973, p. 3-4) showed that they had no central authority, no president, no officers, the committees were autonomous and any person who was willing to do the work could be the "co-ordinator" of a committee. Committees could make their own internal rules, could plan actions, and recruit members, in any manner they wished. Committees could raise their own funds or request funds from the Finance Committee.

Membersip was open to any person, male or female, student, non-psychologist, who was supportive of women in psychology. Membership ranged across a diverse group of people. A Division in APA could not be as unstructured as AWP and could only accept as members those individuals who met the criteria for admission to APA. The minimum standard for election to member status in APA is the receipt of the doctoral degree in psychology conferred by a graduate school of recognized standing.

Basically, it seems apparent that AWP was viewed as a more radical, militant, political, lobbying, non-APA group, with greater freedom to be a gadfly to sting APA into action. Its members were mainly applied practioners in psychology from diverse backgrounds but usually working in the clinical/

counseling field. AWP had decided as early as 1971 to retain its status as independent of APA, while encouraging its members who were also APA members to represent AWP interests within APA.

Division 35 was seen as a more academic, scientific, research oriented group with a concern to legitimize the study of women. Members of Division 35 were asked to have a significant commitment to research on women. The new Division was a highly structured organization, which would probably appeal to less politically radical women. It was also seen as more able to work within the traditional APA hierarchy. Interestingly, the two groups frequently shared the same membership. AWP women became members and officers of both units. For example, Jo-Ann Gardner (1973) who argued against the formation of Division 35, later became editor of the Division 35 Newsletter. Women seemed to devote the most energy to the organization that best fit their needs and styles.

Sexist Language

The women's caucus in psychology also became involved early with concerns about the damaging effects of the masculine bias in language. This language bias embedded in the English

language gave the impression that: a) people in general are of the male gender and b) certain social and occupational roles are automatically sex-linked. Because literary style and language are biased toward the masculine, women in psychology tended to become invisible as colleagues and as subjects (APA Task Force on Issues of Sexual Bias in Graduate Education, 1975).

Russo and Stier (1975) in their article, "A Rose is a Rose ... is a Four-letter Word", argued that male oriented language is also damaging because it tends to give the subliminal psychological message that females are inferior and it has a tendency to foster misleading or unproved assumptions.

While the male pronoun can be called generic, oddly enough when referring to higher status occupations such as doctor, professor, psychotherapist, manager, and the like, the male pronoun is used but when referring to lower status occupations such as typists, nurses, school teachers, secretaries and the like, the female pronoun is commonly used. The view of the world presented through language may perpetuate stereotypes while it claims to be reflecting reality. Russo & Stier noted that the greatest resistance to change seemed to come toward language change. Frequently the strategy used was that of "reductio ad absurdum", reworking words which

include "man" so that the result becomes gobbledygook. The APA Monitor carried many examples of this kind of ridicule.

AWP attacked sexist language as early as 1970 and could report with some degree of satisfaction that the convention program for the 1971 APA annual convention had switched from chairman to chairperson. By 1974 enough emotion had been aroused by charges of sexist language in APA publications that the Committee on Women in Psychology proposed to the Board of Social and Ethical Responsibility for Psychology that a Task Force be established to develop guidelines for the Publications Manual to implement a nonsexist language approach in journals (Division 35 Newsletter, 1975, 2 (2), p.8). By 1976 the APA Council of Representatives agreed the official APA publications should be revised to remove existing sexist language and invited suggestions on wording from all members (APA Monitor, 1976, 7 (3), p.8). The APA Publications and Communications Board agreed to consider for inclusion in a revision of the APA Publication Manual guidelines developed by a Task Force on nonsexist language. In June, 1977, a change sheet for the Publication Manual was issued by the APA.

This change which took over seven years to achieve is viewed as an important change which may reduce the

invisibility of women in psychology as scientists, as subjects, and as subject matter. Some awkwardnesses are small costs considering the potential benefits that nonsexist language may accrue (Russo and Stier, 1975).

Sexism in Psychotherapy

The women's caucus was highly concerned with the issue of sexism in psychotherapy. In 1972 the AWP urged the APA to pass a resolution concerning sexual relations between therapist and client.

> This resolution demanded that APA issue a policy statement as part of its ethical standards, that sexual intercourse between therapist and patient is unethical and untherapeutic; that therapists found guilty of this malpractice should lose their APA membership, and notification be sent to their state licensing boards and employers.
>
> (AWP Newsletter, September-October, 1972, p.2)

The women's caucus demand for a strong statement against any sexual intercourse between therapist and patient was not immediately granted. However, the crisis in medical malpractice started spilling over into psychology by 1976, Asher (1976) reported that the insurance carrier covering malpractice insurance for psychologists had dropped the coverage.

Central Mutual had in fact dropped APA's policy largely because it was afraid of getting stuck with large claims for sexual abuses in psychotherapy, confided Paul O'Brien, a Washington attorney who administers the APA trust fund. At least five such claims were among the more than 45 received by Central Mutual from psychologists since the company began underwriting the APA program in 1974. All involved male therapists and female clients. Most are pending in the courts. One claim seeks $500,000 in compensatory and $600,000 in punitive damages; another asks for $550,000; and still another demands $2 million. It is doubtful that such high amounts will actually be awarded, noted O'Brien. Yet Central Mutual's fears were not altogether unwarranted. In one such malpractice case last year, a female patient received $300,000 in damages from a New York psychiatrist with whom she had had sexual relations ... APA's ethical code currently contains no explicit prohibition on sexual intercourse, but the Ethics Committee adopted the following wording in mid-February ... 'Psychologists should make every effort to avoid dual relationships with client and/or relationships

> which might impair their professional judgment or increase the risk of client exploitation ... sexual intimacies with clients are unethical'.
>
> (Asher, 1976, p.1 & 11)

For more information on the major malpractice suit referred to see Freeman and Roy (1977). It is difficult to evaluate clearly whether the prohibition of sexual intimacies between therapists and patient, added to the APA ethical code in 1976, was due to pressure from the women's caucus in APA or from external pressure from their insurance carrier. Evidently, clinicians were unwilling to pay increased insurance fees to cover the sexual behavior of some of their colleagues.

Sex Bias in Testing

The women's caucus has also been concerned with testing. Their attention has been focused on sex bias in Career Interest Inventories, which are used in vocational counseling. Many of these tests have been developed empirically by examining the traits and interests of people already employed in particular careers. Because many jobs are filled predominantly by men, these empirically validated procedures tended to be prejudiced against women. Vocational tests have been guilty of sex role bias primarily by limiting a woman's occupation choices compared to a man's (McAllister and Fernhoff, 1976).

AWP passed a resolution on testing which questioned the validity of personality testing in general and supporting the use of non-sex role differentiated norms (AWP Newsletter, November-December, 1973, p.3) White (1975) reported that the National Institute of Education had issued guidelines for assessing sex bias and sex fairness in Career Interest Inventories. The assumption in Career Interest Inventories that having personal traits similar to persons in a job category is a good predictor of satisfaction in a job category is being questioned.

White notes that:

> Women are socialized early to accept outside authority. Therefore, the effect can be powerful when they are given a test score and advice from a counselor. In the past-- Career Interest Inventories have perpetuated the status quo --not raised the aspirations of women.
>
> (White, 1975, p.14)

The women's caucus seems to have been instrumental in reducing the danger to women of some personality tests and Career Interest Inventories.

Women's Program Office

One of the earliest demands of the AWP presented to the Board of Directors in 1969 was for free office space in the APA Central Office to be used for women's issues (APA Monitor, 1970, 1 (1), p.3). The Task Force on the Status of Women in Psychology had recommended that a senior staff position be established at APA Central Office whose responsibility would be to work with the task force on women's issues (APA Monitor, 1972, 3 (8 & 9), p.4). Division 35 again requested in 1977 that an office of Women's Programs be set up in the APA Central Office and staffed by a full-time psychologist whose specialty area is psychology of women (APA Monitor, 1977, 8 (3), p.31). In September, 1977, Nancy P. Russo was appointed administrative officer for women's programs.

> The newly-established Women's Program Office is designed to serve as a focal point for APA's efforts to insure equality of opportunity for women psychologists through monitoring governmental actions and organizing information from psychologists on public policy issues affecting the lives of women.
>
> (APA Monitor, 1977, 8 (11), p.17)

After eight years of resistance to one of the original goals of the women's caucus the APA provided an office and staff to meet the needs of women in psychology.

Conclusions

The influence of the women's caucus in psychology has made a major impact on the APA. The Black caucus, by withdrawing from APA, has had less of an impact. Both women and minorities have sensitized a major academic professional organization, dominated by middle aged white males, to issues of racism and sexism within psychology. These two caucuses emerged during a time when the profession of psychology was facing a serious challenge to its traditions in training and practice. As the number of psychologists has risen, the employment market for traditional psychologists has decreased. The need for academic scientists has decreased as the student population has decreased in the United States. While the APA watched the job market dwindle for its members, minorities and women started demanding their fair share of jobs and positions of power. With less of both to go around the resistance to change by some white males in psychology could only increase.

Women continue to influence the APA as evidenced by the recent vote by the Council of Representatives to refuse to honor contracts for APA conventions in three states where the Equal Rights Amendment has not been ratified. This is a major and controversial move which could cost the APA millions

of dollars in damages. Without the pressure exerted by the women's caucus and their male supporters in APA, it is unlikely that the APA would have made such a strong stand for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Black psychologists have been influential in their major areas of concern which is IQ testing. Indeed, the whole area of testing is being challenged in the courts and psychologists involved in measurement and evaluation research must meet much more rigorous standards today.

The APA is still in a state of flux and change. Willingly or unwillingly, an academic organization developed to advance the science of psychology has become more and more politicized. The organization has grown enormously and it remains to be seen if it can hold the many different, at times conflicting, interest groups under one viable organization.

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